Initiation in Sarvodaya

Reg. No. 3092

HARIJAN

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XII. No. 6 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, APRIL 11, 1948 TWO ANNAS

THE NIZAM'S STATE

Harrowing tales come from the Nizam's State every day. For some months past a small but powerful clique has been committing acts of gross barbarity in various parts of the State and the neighbouring areas. The State is unwilling or unable to stop them. Unfortunately the ruler, his officers and this powerful clique are all Muslims, while the oppressed people are Hindus. Religious difference is the apparent differentiating factor between the oppressors and the oppressed.

For some years past Satan has entered our land in the guise of religion. Since August 1946, we have seen him fully enough in his ugliest and most ferocious forms. With two difficult fasts Gandhiji succeeded in checking his movements in Calcutta and Delhi. Enraged at the obstruction put in his way, Satan revenged himself by taking the life of Gandhiji himself. The Muslims, both of India and Pakistan, gratefully acknowledged his services.

But this does not mean that Satan has retired from the Indian stage. Restrained in the north and the east he has made his appearance in the land of the Nizam. One cannot say what grave forms his acts will assume, unless he is boldly restrained.

State and political methods of restraining evil are different from the *satyagraha* methods. Gandhiji has shown the latter. A *satyagrahi* does not think in terms of so-called minorities and majorities. He does not pause to judge who was the first or major wrong doer and who the second or minor one. He considers only who is in actual danger,— actually oppressed at the moment, and contributes all his might to save him. This is expected from every *satyagrahi* but more particularly from a *satyagrahi* who belongs to the same society to which the oppressors belong. Thus Gandhiji spent all his energies for the Muslims as against the wrongful acts of the Hindus and Sikhs. Similarly, respectable Muslims should make strong efforts on behalf of the Hindus, Sikhs etc., where Muslims are guilty of oppression. The danger itself involved in such an attempt, makes the effort strong and of the nature of *satyagraha*.

In my humble opinion thoughtful and respectable Muslims of India and Pakistan, as also of the Nizam's State itself should individually as well as collectively condemn the acts of the Muslim clique which in the name of the Muslim community tyrannizes over the people and run the risk involved in condemning them.

Wardha, 28-3-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

WHAT I GOT FROM GANDHIJI

A young American travelling in India to gather knowledge about Gandhiji put me the other day a pertinent question:

> "What did you get most from Gandhiji in the course of your long association with him?"

It was a simple and straight question, but it perplexed me and I did not know how I should answer it. I had been for about thirty years in close association with him and, certainly, I had learnt countless things from him. But I did not know how to make out a list of even a few important items. After a few minutes' consideration, I said.

> "I got his heart. That is all that I can say in a word. He gave me his love and put his trust in me and he did not take back any part of that love and trust whatever happened. Everything else that I might be able to enumerate will be sub-items of this."

I felt that the answer did not quite satisfy him. He expected, perhaps, a more detailed list illustrated with incidents and anecdotes. But my memory did not help me that way, and we parted for the night.

Next morning, I told him that one item which I could mention specifically was his advice to us to speak directly to the person, about whom one had in one's mind something unfavourable to him. He said that our people sadly lacked this courage. If a person had some suspicion or cause of dissatisfaction towards X he would speak about it to several others but never to X himself. On the contrary, he would often receive and talk to X as if he had nothing against him in his mind. We had developed the habit of not allowing our true mind to open before the right person. We even considered it to be a piece of good manners. Really, it was weakness of character and Gandhiji desired us to be diligent in overcoming this timidity. Gandhiji reminded me, I said, of the advice Jesus gave his disciples that if one went to the temple to give an offering, but when about to do so remembered that he had something in his heart against a brother, he should immediately go to the brother and settle with him before the offering was given.

I have endeavoured to put this advice into practice. Generally the results have been good. They would be better if I had developed along with it the habit of not getting a little excited at the time of expressing myself. This want of control over my emotions was an obstacle. Nevertheless, my experience was that a straight and direct talk and the expression of one's real opinion, even if it hurt for the time being the person spoken to, put

a check on misunderstanding, hypocrisy and slander. If a person spoke frankly to X himself about what he thought about him, the urge to go on speaking about it to others would disappear or, at least, diminish.

Wardha, 29-3-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

VINOBA AT RAJGHAT

[In pursuance of the programme fixed at the Sevagram Conference, Shri Vinoba Bhave and party reached Delhi on 30th March, 1948, the date on which Gandhiji had died two months ago. After the evening prayer at the Rajghat cremation ground, Shri Vinoba addressed the gathering in Hindustani. The following is a summary of his sermon. — *Ed.*]

Gandhiji's life, Shri Vinoba said, had closed with prayer, and it was in the fitness of things that the speaker should begin his attempt to continue Gandhiji's work with prayer.

In a way, he said, India had attained Swaraj. But the atmosphere of the country had deteriorated since. Gandhiji tried to improve it and laid down his life in the attempt. The work was stilll incomplete. During the deliberations at Sevagram, it became clear to those who participated in the Conference that the immediate duty of all thoughtful people was to concentrate their effort on the improvement of the atmosphere. This had brought him, Shri Jajuji, Shrimati Janakidevi Bajaj and others to Delhi.

He and his colleagues were there to find out what assistance they could render to the refugees, the Government and the Congress in connection with the Refugee Problem. He did not know whether anything substantial would come out of their visit; but it was for them to do their duty and leave the result to God. The clear way, which Gandhiji had shown them, was that they were to go on doing what was right, unmindful of the difficulties that lay in the way. If life came to an end while they were still at work, it would be, so far as they were personally concerned, an end of their worries. One's life, Shri Vinoba said, was like water flowing towards the sea. Its aim was to reach the sea. But if it got fixed up in filling a pit lying along the way, it had performed its duty fully even though it did not reach the sea.

Necessarily, one of the tasks before them was to help what they could to mitigate the sufferings of the refugees. But that was not the principal task. Happiness and misery were a pair of life's companions. Alternately one of them always accompanied it. In course of time the refugees would even forget their present miseries and begin to taste the pleasures of life. Relief, therefore, though necessary was not the most important task. The principal task was to purify the atmosphere of hatred which had pervaded the country. It was not possible to purify that atmosphere with forces of counter and stronger hate. Love alone could purify it. The power of the State could not bring that. Only the people outside the official world could do it. The State could help them. But the burden lay upon the people themselves.

Shri Vinoba said that he wanted to say one thing at once. People must banish from their minds the idea of a Hindu Raj. If they wanted *dharma* — religion — to spread and prosper, they must give up the idea of linking it with power. The experiment had been often tried and the uniform result had been that it was religion which was the loser. The aims and ideals of religion were contrary to those of power. Those who sought and taught religious truths renounced power, placed themselves outside the influence of worldly pleasure and pain and gave themselves to meditation and self-discipline. It was this life of sanctity and renunciation which spread its lustre on the people and made people pay homage to religions and accept their teachings. No political power was needed for propagating religion. None had propagated Hinduism throughout the length and breadth of India more successfully and ably than Shankaracharya. But he did not do it with the assistance of Power. He had said that true knowledge was the only means of propagating the principles of religion, and it was to be imparted by appeal to reason. If the appeal to reason did not succeed once, it should be made again and again till it did. Knowledge alone could remove the darkness of ignorance. It was well-known that the *Gayatri* — the prince of the *mantras* in Hinduism — was a prayer to God for the gift of reason.

One of the great beliefs of Hinduism, Shri Vinoba said, was the theory of rebirth. Was, it possible, he asked, to compel a person to accept the belief by enacting a law to that effect, and to banish or imprison him if he refused to do so? He knew, on the one hand, several Hindus who did not accept this doctrine and, on the other, a few non-Hindus who tended to favour it. Could the State prevent the former from refusing to believe in rebirth, or the latter from inclining towards it?

The gist of his argument was that religion was a subject of the spirit; and it could be spread only by meditation, knowledge, self-discipline and experience.

Gandhiji, he said, had left for them an example to follow. Gandhiji had objected to safety measures being employed at his prayer meetings. He wanted to be left into the hands of God always, but particularly so at the time of prayer. To pray under measures of external safety would be self-contradictory. A prayer ceased to be so, if the worshipper instead of surrendering himself completely to God, placed himself into the hands of guards. Let, therefore, Hindus, as also followers of other religions give up the idea of associating religion with power. Both would suffer thereby.

The fundamental principles of the modern world were that every government should recognize the equality of all men, give equal justice to all and regard none as high or low. No government that did not recognize those principles could be stable. If a stable government was sought, religion must not be linked up with power. Both would prosper if each kept itself in its own sphere.

There was one more subject he would like to speak upon. India was a great and ancient country. The world had cast its eyes towards her in expectation of a lead. Rumours were afloat about a third world war coming. Could India, it was asked, keep aloof from it? The speaker hoped that the rumours would not come true, at least in the near future. But, what should India do, if a war did break out? In his opinion, India should work with confidence in her mission. If she acted right, she could check the war, and save both herself and the world from dire

destruction. India should not be carried off her feet by the so-called contrary world currents. Every country, every person even, carried its or his independent atmosphere, which could be kept unsullied in spite of contrary forces. Man was not a mere aggregate of material particles. He was a spiritual being. He could keep himself and even spread round about him an atmosphere of *satyayuga* (righteousness) in the midst of *kaliyuga* (evil) prevailing all round.

Although India had considerably degenerated, still the world respected her. The respect was due to the fact that in achieving her independence, she had not resorted to means commonly adopted by nations for achieving their political independence. If India wanted to retain that respect, she should establish peace and unity in the land. The moral power of the Government of India would thereby increase considerably. Other countries had considerably advanced in physical power. If India wanted to vie with them in physical power, she could do so only by placing herself under their control in some manner or another. But, if she relied upon her moral power, she could fulfil the expectations of the world in spite of the fact that she had only just come to her own.

An examination of the tributes paid by the world to Gandhiji after his death disclosed an almost uniform faith that the world could have peace and freedom only by going the way which Gandhiji had shown to India. Gandhiji was the first to fulfil Manu's prophecy made two thousand years ago that the thinkers of India would mould the moral character of the world. India needed to follow Gandhiji faithfully for the further fulfilment of that prophecy. That was the only way to world peace and happiness.

THE LANGUAGE OF PRAYER

[During the Gandhi mourning period public prayers were held at Gopuri in Wardha where Shri Vinoba Bhave generally addressed the audience a few words after the prayer. The following is a free translation of his address on 14-2-'48. Before addressing the meeting he had given a recitation of his Marathi metrical rendering of *Al Fatiha*,* the first Chapter of the *Quran*. —Ed.]

Shri Vinoba said that he had often recited that song at prayers. The translation had been accepted as correct by Muslim scholars, but some felt that until they heard the Arabic sounds, their sentiments were not satisfied. A similar feeling was shared by the admirers of Sanskrit. The *Gitai* (the speaker's Marathi translation of the *Gita*) had become very popular in Maharashtra. The villagers had begun to recite it. But, he said, he knew several persons who said that unless it was recited in Sanskrit, they did not get full spiritual satisfaction. They did not understand Sanskrit. Necessarily, therefore, they could not even pronounce it correctly. Still, a complex had developed that Sanskrit, Arabic and Hebrew were the languages of religion and the mere recital in these languages was meritorious by itself. In his opinion, it was blind faith and a superstition. Except for such *mantras* or incantations which were supposed to be efficacious by reason of mere pronunciation in a particular form, there was little value in mere mechanical recitation of a prayer without the mind dwelling upon its contents and consciously utilizing it for soul-purification through its meaning. He thought that it was even dishonest to desire such merit; because, it meant that the reciter wanted merit to accrue to him without being put to the trouble of purifying the mind. The desire for cheap merit led to the degeneration of religion.

He did not consider that one's mother-tongue was not sufficient for one's spiritual development. He could understand the necessity of studying a national language and a provincial language. But that had nothing to do with one's spiritual development. The mother-tongue was quite sufficient for that. If spiritual knowledge could not be gained except through some such language as Sanskrit, Arabic or Hebrew, then the masses would always remain miles away from religion. Such a notion was a danger both to religion and society.

Shri Vinoba, continuing, said that he had often recited the *Ishopanishad* in Marathi before villagers. The original *Upanishads* were a closed book even to ordinary students of Sanskrit. But the Marathi rendering could be understood by the villagers and he saw that they were moved by it. If he had recited it in Sanskrit, he alone could have understood its meaning and he would have thus separated himself from the people, as they separated themselves from the masses in railways where a few travelled in the first or second class, leaving the third for the common people. So, he firmly felt that religious books should be available to the public in their own languages. If they could have very good translations of the old scripture, they should have them. Otherwise, the *abhangs* of Tukaram, the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas and the songs of Narsinh Mehta and similar other original literature in popular languages should be considered quite sufficient. They must give up the superstition that spiritual knowledge was locked up in particular languages only.

Not that he was opposed to the study of Sanskrit. He had often taught Sanskrit himself and he would say further that those who wanted to study Sanskrit would do well to learn it through the *Gita*, the *Upanishads*, etc. But that did not mean that it was necessary to know Sanskrit for one's spiritual development. The mother-tongue was a proper and sufficient medium for that purpose.

There was a similar superstition, he said, with regard to the script also. He had known a Kannada gentleman who thought that unless one read the *Gita* printed in the Devanagari script, he could not get the full spiritual benefit of it. This was script-pride, but, he concluded, wherever there was pride, the spirit disappeared.

---

* राग भैरवी – ताल धुमाळी

आरंभीं ईश्वाचें नाम, कृपाळु जो कनवाळू[1] — ध्रु०
स्तुति त्या देवाची, प्रभु जो विश्वाचा,
कृपाळु कनवाळू, स्वामी शेवटच्या दिवसाचा ॥
तुझी करूं भक्ति, तुझी च रे याचना,
सरळ मार्ग दाखिव तूं आम्हां —
ज्यांवरि तूं करितोसि कृपा त्यांचा;
न ज्यांवरि तुझा प्रकोप अुतरे,
न वा भ्रमित जे त्यांचा.
म्हण रे देव तो अेक, देव तो निरपेक्षचि,
नसे[2] पिता नसे पुत्र, नसे कोणि हि[3] तत्सम.

१. मायाळु, करुणायुक्त. २. नहीं. ३. कोअी भी.

HARIJAN

April 11 1948

INITIATION IN SARVODAYA

For sometime past it was felt that the various Constructive Organizations, which have been working independently of one another all along, (with occasional co-operation in carrying out particular programmes), had not been able to spread the lustre expected out of a life of non-violence. The reason was that each worked with a narrow organizational outlook. The necessity for joint co-ordinated work had arisen, and the Constructive Workers' Conference passed a resolution recommending such a step. As a matter of course this led to thinking in terms of unification. Unification presupposes a change in the personal life of the workers of the various *sanghs* in terms of a unified programme. The following seven rules were suggested as the first minimum observances for workers in any form of constructive activity, and the A. I. S. A. duly passed a resolution on these lines:

1. Every worker should be a regular spinner.
2. He should wear *khadi* which is either self-spun, or home-spun, or certified.
3. As far as possible he should use village-made things.
4. He should endeavour to use cow's milk when at home.
5. He should clean latrines or do some village sanitation work personally at least once in a month.
6. Wherever a basic school was available, he should educate his children in that institution.
7. He should try to learn the Devanagari, the Urdu and one of the South Indian scripts.

Let us consider each of the items one by one.

1. This is not intended for making regular spinning a kind of ritual. It is put forth as symbolic of keeping firm to the basic principle of life namely, that there should be some kind of work, which every individual, young or old, high or low, should do in common. Spinning furnishes a visible testimony of what combined work can achieve. It is initiation in *sarvodaya* (common weal). I suggest that the spinner will not think of using slivers made by others, but that he will prepare his own slivers by *tunai* and accessory processes on unginned cotton. This also is a part of spinning, and it does not matter if occasionally he has to spend all his time on the accessory processes and is unable to spin. Also, he should remember that spinning is not complete until the yarn is duly double-twined.

2. There is no objection to a person, who spins fine counts, giving his own fine *khadi* to another and using the latter's coarse *khadi* himself. Rather it is better to practise co-operation along with self-sufficiency. The purchase of certified *khadi* must be confined to supplement the needs. It must not become the principal source of providing oneself with *khadi*.

3. The words "as far as possible" must not be construed to enable oneself to escape with least observance. They are necessary because village-made things are numerous. The aim is the development of rural-mindedness. Clarity of purpose is more important than mere mechanical observance of a specific rule. If the purpose is clear, the observance gets endowed with a meaning. Otherwise, it is blind performance and a burden.

4. The rule about cow's milk has been purposely diluted to enable workers to go about on their work. It is also meant to indicate that in the insistence on cow's milk there is no hostility towards the buffalo. This latitude will even help the buffalo to a certain extent. The concentration of effort on the cow is just a present necessity.

5. If we want to remove the distinction between the Harijans and the others, the untouchability attached to the services usually performed by them must also go. The rule suggested above is in recognition of this principle. Every person creates nuisance and so every person must also join in clearing it. If th[e] so-called upper class people begin to participate in this kind of work with enthusiasm and earnestness, we shall have brought about a very great and necessary social revolution.

6. If one thinks that Basic Education is the best type and method of education, it would be ridiculous if one gave it to other people's children and deprived one's own from its benefits. Indeed, it was unnecessary, therefore, to put down this rule. But at times we are apt to overlook the obvious, and hence this specific mention was needed.

7. I am responsible for the suggestion to learn a Dravidian script in addition to the Devanagari and the Urdu. I believe that we will not succeed in achieving all India unity without this effort. The study of the language will necessarily follow the knowledge of the script. There are four South Indian languages and three scripts. It is sufficient to stu[dy] any one of these for recognizing the principle underlying the suggestion. And if the principle and its importance are understood, the task is not very difficult. I say from my own experience that the South Indian languages are less difficult for a northerner, than the North Indian languages, with their chaos in respect of genders, are for a southerner. But difficulties apart, it does not become us to ask the southerners to study Hindustani in the name of unity, while we ourselves take no trouble to do anything to help it. It will simply not work. The easiest way of studying the script is to get moderately acquainted with the alphabet first and then to read a book of a known text (like the *Gita*) printed in that script to acquire practice in it. If all Indian scripts adopt the Tamilian or Lok-nagari rule of doing away with special forms of conjunct consonants and commence to write them in a uniform manner by placing a conjunctive mark on the unvoweled consonant, the study of scripts would become a very light task indeed. But this is possible only when wisdom dawns upon the writers of the various scripts.

The above is a programme of discipline for self-elevation. It has been made obligatory on the workers of the various *sanghs*. But, indeed, it is one for every one of us to accept. If the *sevaks* of the Sarvodaya Samaj adopt these rules of conduct, the Samaj will spread like sunshine in every direction. The rules are only illustrative. A thoughtful *sevak* must make additions to them with an eye to his own moral uplift. Only, he must observe two conditions in making the additions. First, the observance must not be carried as a burden. It should guide life like a compass and make its course simpler than before. Secondly, the observance should not be made use of for making invidious comparisons between individuals. If these conditions are not observed, the rules would defeat their purpose by making the observer narrow-minded and uncharitable. Subject to these cautions, I shall say, if any one wants to become a *sevak*, let him discipline himself with appropriate observances.

VINOBA BHAVE

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

WHAT SHOULD GOD HAVE DONE ?

A young *Gramasevak* writes :

> " The assassination of Bapu makes me doubtful about the existence of God. Bapu had left himself entirely into the hands of God ; neither God nor Nature could save him against blind violence. The mightiest embodiment of non-violence broke down physically before it. This makes me think and my thinking does not go to make my faith firm in God. Why should Bapu fall a victim to this blind force? "

There are other letters with similar doubts. Questions simpler than those regarding the nature of God are not easy to understand. It is not through intellectual thinking only that all doubts are resolved. Intellectual reasoning has to be backed with observation, experiment and experience. Age is also a factor in matters depending on experience. For instance, one cannot make a boy of eight understand sex questions even if he has been brought up in sensuous surroundings. He would begin to understand them more quickly than other boys of his age but still not before the age of twelve or thirteen at the least. Much more so higher truths pertaining to the spirit. *Sadhana*, i. e. self-discipline and age are necessary along with other factors. If the questioner thinks it worthwhile pursuing this matter, he must not try to get ready-made answers to his queries. Let him think hard, lead a disciplined life and get sufficient experience — internal as well as external — of life for a long time. Then, possibly, he might find an explanation which will satisfy him at least, if not all.

But I can help him by making his questions clearer to him. Really speaking the question raised by him is not whether God exists or not, but whether a God of the type of a constitutional monarch of a democratic State exists or not. He thinks that millions of people wanted Gandhiji to live. A few misguided or evil-minded ones voted for his death. Why should God, if He exists, not implement the will of the majority? Let God or someone on His behalf explain this clearly, or abdicate. Since this is the substance of the doubt, well, God is anything except a constitutional monarch of a democratic State. He indeed has a Constitution and acts strictly constitutionally, but the Constitution is a good deal unwritten and no one knows it fully.

Then his doubt also amounts to this: Is God always good or for the good? Why do evil things take place in this world? Here are two presumptions: one, that what one thinks to be good or evil must be so and second, that if God's Constitution allows freedom of action to do what one regards to be evil, His Constitution must be defective. Both the presumptions might be entirely wrong. But in making these presumptions what the doubter really wants is a God who will make the doubter's will His and act up to it. Men of God, however, think otherwise. They say, " Thy Will is Thine, to make it ours. " So I would advise young friends not to try to understand or judge God by our present knowledge of the world and Him, but try to seek Him earnestly, if they have the will to pursue the matter to its end; and at the same time to be good themselves and do good to others, believing, in the meanwhile, with humility and seeking peace in faith.

Wardha, 24-3-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

THE EXTENT OF OUR COUNTRY

Do Pakistan and Ceylon cease to be parts of our country because of their political independence from the Indian Union? Do the people of those places cease to be our countrymen?

Politically, before the British became a paramount power in India, that is, before 1857, there was hardly a period when there were not more independent States in India than one. Generally there was always at least some part, howsoever small it might have been, which was absolutely independent.

Daman is a part of Portuguese territory. The district of Surat, which begins within about five or seven miles from Daman, is in India. Portugal is not a member even of the British Commonwealth. Pakistan and Ceylon are. Still, does any inhabitant of Surat feel that the people of Daman are foreigners ? Does a Damanite regard a Surati as a foreigner ? Inspite of caste, communal and religious differences, inspite of handicaps due to customs regarding food and drink and touchability, inspite of complete political and administrative independence, there has always been a sentiment that the people of Bengal and Gujarat, Kathiawad and Madras,— Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, or Sikh — in some way constitute a single people. It is wrong to say that this sentiment was developed by British rule. Shankaracharya of South India established his centres in Kashmir, Orissa and Kathiawad. Vallabhacharya born in the Central Provinces spread his cult round about Mathura. Sahajananda of Ayodhya propagated his cult in Gujarat and Gujarati Swami Dayanand did so in the Punjab. All this took place long before the British came or during the early days of the British period.

It may be that before British rule our language with regard to the oneness of the nation

was defective and the sentiment was imperfectly developed. The language is defective even today. An immigrant of Gujarat or U. P. living in Maharashtra might be heard to say to another that he had not visited his *desh* (country) for two years and that he was living in *paradesh* (another country). A Gujarati may ask another Gujarati which place he belonged to "in the *desh*" (at home). But this is only defective language. He never believes that a Maharashtrian or a Bengali of whatever community is a foreigner in the sense in which an Englishman or a Negro, a Chinese or a Japanese is. He simply uses the word *desh* (country) for *pranta* (province).

Just as Daman though under Portugal is a part of Gujarat so also, the East and the West Bengals and the East and the West Punjabs, Assam, Sind, Baluchistan, the N. W. F. Province though under separate and independent political administrations are parts of the same country. Political arrangements might change from time to time as circumstances require. Religious persuasions might also change. Languages also might alter. But if we think in a straight manner and do not regard the external differences as basic and artificially try to make them permanent, a Baluchi, a Sindhi, a Punjabi, a Pathan or an East Bengali will not cease to be a fellow countryman of ours in our mind. Nor will any inhabitant of those provinces ever think of considering us as foreigners in the same sense in which he would consider a Chinese or a Japanese or a European to be a foreigner. An indefinable geographical and cultural unity so binds us together that this whole country extending from the Frontier and Pakistan to Assam and Ceylon is imbedded in our minds as our common fatherland. The parts of both the dominions are *swadesh*. Their inhabitants are *deshbandhus*. The good of the one is the good of the other, and their misfortunes also common misfortunes. Political arrangements are transitory. The Qaid-e-Azam or communalist Hindus or Sikhs may not accept this today, but some day they will have to do it. It is as much correct to enumerate today, as we did before, as parts of our country —

Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, Maratha, Dravid,
Utkal, Banga;
Vindhya, Himachal, Yamuna, Ganga,
uchchhal Sindhu taranga.

Wardha, 31-3-'48 K. G. MASHRUWALA

DELHI DIARY

[Prayer Speeches from 10-9-'47 to 30-1-'48]

As the explanation of the title indicates in this Diary are collected the prayer speeches delivered by Gandhiji to his prayer audiences during his last stay in Delhi.

Gandhiji himself has said in one of these prayer speeches that "*they were to be regarded and listened to as an integral part of the prayer.*" These speeches reveal the travail the Father of the Nation went through when the new State was born.

With a foreword by Babu Rajendraprasad

Price *Rupees Three* Postage etc. *Annas Ten*

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

STANDARDS OF JOURNALISM

To those of us who had the privilege of working with Gandhiji every week when the *Harijan* was being edited by him it seems strange to be writing for its columns without submitting the same to the searching gaze of that prince of journalists. The care and thought he bestowed on whatever he himself wrote, the eagle eye with which he vetted every word of what even a man like Mahadev Desai wrote, his insistence on right expression, on the adherence to truth where facts were concerned, on the necessity of not using one word more than necessary, his appreciation of a good literary style, his ruthless weeding out of much or wholesale discarding of what one thought was good, all these are never-to-be forgotten lessons. But the remembrance of them makes one pause and wonder whether any one of our poor efforts can ever come up to the high standard of journalism which was one of Gandhiji's incomparable contributions to public life.

The *Harijan* was read over the whole of India and in many countries abroad not only because of the rich food for thought which Gandhiji's writings always gave but also because readers knew that what facts they gleaned therefrom were cent per cent true. And after having read the *Harijan* there was always the satisfaction that one had learnt something that one did not know before. And how obvious that "something" often was.

Gandhiji himself became a journalist almost by accident, as it were. The need early arose for a paper during his struggle in South Africa and with his usual energy and determination he put his hand to the wheel and writing became an easy thing for him as indeed did everything to which he turned his attention.

On Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala has fallen a heavy burden and it behoves us all to help him all we can.

If the columns of the *Harijan* can continue to remind us of the things which Gandhiji taught us to value, if the *Harijan* can, by being true to his ideals, help us to be true to them, it will serve a great purpose.

Gandhiji had been greatly distressed of late at the general falling away from truth of the Press. He hated the speculation indulged in the matter of appointments which he felt was no concern of journalists. He hated fabrication of news; he disliked the emphasis often laid on things of little value; he did not understand how any journalist worthy of the name could resort to what are known as 'scoops'; he held that even if news that was meant to be secret leaked out to the Press, it was the duty of the Press to withhold publication of it until it was released from authentic sources. Gandhiji loathed the indecent advertisements that so often adorn our newspapers and journals. He often told me that a journal or paper that could not exist without money from advertisements was not worth reading. It was reading matter that weighed with him and nothing else. He laid the greatest stress imaginable on the influence for good or evil which the Press could wield.

All work in whatsoever sphere was a means primarily of service in Gandhiji's eyes. Newspapers and journals can build up a fitting memorial to him in this matter by conforming or trying to conform to the unimpeachable standards of journalism practised by our revered and beloved leader.

New Delhi, 29-3-'48 A. K.

SARVODAYA SAMAJ

Enquiries are being made regarding the Sarvodaya Samaj and its rules and literature. The reader will find in the *Harijan* papers of the 4th April the main resolution which was passed about it at the Sevagram Conference and also an article, by Dr. Rajendraprasad, explaining its background. The names of the members of the Executive Committee of the Samaj are also given at the end of the resolution. This committee will at its convenience elect its office-bearers (if any necessary), and will take such steps as are necessary to carry on its work. It should be noticed that Dr. Rajendraprasad and Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala who were authorized to nominate the above committee have themselves no place in it. They are and will remain *sevaks* of the Samaj and in that capacity render whatever help they are capable of giving. But for *information* and *particulars* regarding the Samaj the proper person to be addressed is Shri R. S. Dhotre, 'Convener,' Sarvodaya Samaj, Bajajwadi, Wardha. It would be very convenient if on all letters the word 'Sarvodaya Samaj' is specifically mentioned.

As a matter of fact, there is nothing particular to know about it immediately, beyond what appeared in the issue of the *Harijan* above mentioned. The name Sarvodaya Samaj may appear new to some. But, there is nothing in it, which we did not know before. The public already has before it the writings and literature of Gandhiji and his Constructive Associations. They are expected to continue as before. They will be more or less, the literature of the Sarvodaya Samaj. But, even if there was no literature in existence, the main rule for a *sevak* of the Samaj is simply this. He must always keep in view the two fundamental principles of Truth and Non-violence and, consistently with these, by his personal life and acts of service work for increasing the happiness of the people and raising the level of their physical, intellectual, moral and economic standard of life. The various constructive activities mentioned in the resolution are illustrative items indicating the direction in which work could be done. These items may be added to according to necessity. It is not necessary that a *sevak* should begin and carry on work only under the instructions and guidance of this Committee, and wait till they are received. The Committee will try to guide him if it is needed. But, even without its help, he can serve the people in his own capacity and according to his own lights, and also help and seek help from others in doing so.

The Sarvodaya Samaj is not a political or a religious body. Nor is it wedded to any particular 'ism'. Any person who agrees with its aims and earnestly believes in Truth and Non-violence as the only correct conduct can deem himself as a *sevak* of the Samaj, whatever political, economic and religious opinions he might hold. Nobody can object to his claim to be such a *sevak*. No prestige accrues to its members as such. It is only through devoted service and continuous good work that one can aspire to get prestige. Nevertheless, the satisfaction that one gets by pledging oneself to be a *sevak* of the Samaj and making a determination to mould one's personal life and to serve the people in accordance with its principles, is itself a source of strength. It was for fostering the spirit of service and strengthening faith in the moral Law that the necessity for an organization like the Sarvodaya Samaj was felt by those who assembled at Sevagram.

Wardha, 30-3-'48 SHYAMLAL

[Shri Dhotre having accompanied Shri Vinoba on his Delhi tour, Shri Shyamlal of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund is looking into the Sarvodaya Samaj correspondence on his behalf. As he has received several enquiries in respect of the Samaj, he has issued the above circular at my suggestion.

Wardha, 2-4-'48 K. G. M.]

STORY HOUR

(*Continued from Vol. XI, No. 45, p. 462*)

[XXXV is from *Confidence and Courage* (General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches) and XXXVI from *Be Comforted* edited by W. E. George (The Lindsey Press). V. G. D.]

XXXV

'Well, God mend all!'

'Nay, by God, Donald, but we must help him to mend it!'

Sir Walter Scott

XXXVI

You remember that lovely French Countess of La Garaye, who rode forth one morning with her gay company to lead the hunt and was brought back an hour later thrown from her horse and crippled for life, and then how, after much repining at her lot, she joins her husband in transforming their castle into a home for incurables like herself, until at last a new and solemn happiness blesses their burden-bearing home, and their lives become, as the poem says,

A tale of noble souls who conquered grief
By dint of tending suffering not their own.

Francis Greenwood Peabody

XXXVII

A pigeon was asked the reason why unlike the domestic fowl it could not bring up more than two young ones at a time. It replied, 'The young pigeon gets its food from the stomach of its parents, while the young of a fowl feed themselves on garbage by the roadside. One stomach cannot feed more than two young ones, while a dunghill can feed a thousand chickens per day.

'If you would live on lawfully acquired food do not have a large family. You must know that in this strait and narrow defile lawful food cannot be had in large quantities.' *Jami, Op. Cit.*

Corrections

1. On page 50 (No. 5), column 2 at the bottom in place of the sentence ending with the words *constructive work* read constructive work in accordance with Shri J. C. Kumarappa's scheme.

2. On page 55 (No. 5) column 1 in lines 41-42 for words *so that they* read *and*; also at the end of line 42 after *and* add *whose words.*

NEW A. I. S. A. RESOLUTIONS

The following are a few of the important resolutions passed by the Board of Trustees of the A. I. S. A. at its sittings held at Sevagram from 17th to 19th March last.

1. The New President

Shri Dhirendra Mazumdar was elected President of the A. I. S. A. (*vice* Gandhiji).

2. New Trustees

Shri Narayandas K. Gandhi and Shrimati Ramadevi Chaudhari were co-opted as additional life Trustees.

3. Khadi Jagat and other periodicals

The A. I. S. A., the A. I. V. I. A. and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh were each having its own periodical. The Board was of opinion that it was desirable to have a common journal for the three bodies; the editor of the *Khadi Jagat* was, therefore, empowered to do the needful in the matter. He should as early as possible hold consultation with the editors of the *Nai Talim*, and the *Gramodyog Patrika* and decide about the form and date of the publication of the amalgamated journal. In case there was a likelihood of delay in amalgamating all the three at once, even two may be combined.

(Note: In consultation with the Hindustani Talimi Sangh it had been decided to merge the *Nai Talim* into the *Khadi Jagat*. The question of the *Gramodyog Patrika* was under discussion with Shri J. C. Kumarappa.)

4. Abandonment of the Yarn Condition

The Charkha Sangh felt that the condition (in the proposed new constitution of the Indian National Congress) that a candidate for a Congress Panchayat must be a habitual wearer of *khadi* was a great step in the advance of the *khadi* movement. In order, therefore, to make *khadi* obtainable with less difficulty, the Charkha Sangh decided to remove the yarn condition imposed upon certified Khadi Bhandars. The remaining conditions being meant for ensuring purity of *khadi* and non-exploitation of labour would remain. Having done this the A. I. S. A. would hereafter devote all its attention upon self-sufficiency work. That is to say, it will not engage itself in the production and sale of *khadi*, as such. If for some time it was necessary to facilitate self-spinners to obtain their supplementary *khadi* necessities, it would try to meet their demand. It would take some time for the Charkha Sangh to make these changes. In the meanwhile whatever *khadi* was sold by the Charkha Sangh would be sold on the yarn condition as before.

5. Seven Observances

The co-ordination of the various All India Constructive Sanghs was under consideration. One of the principal ideas underlying it was that trustees, office-bearers and members of the staff of every Sangh joining the co-ordinated body should think in terms of the entire Constructive Programme and, therefore, they should order their own life in such manner that they would not be mere verbal propagandists of the programme, but would further the Constructive Programme by their very mode of life. As a step in this direction it was considered necessary that office-bearers and members of the staff should observe certain fundamental rules of conduct.

The following seven rules were adopted for the purpose:

1. Every one should clean latrines or do some village sanitation work personally at least once in a month.
2. He must be a regular spinner.
3. He must wear *khadi* which is either self-spun or home-spun or certified.
4. As far as possible he should use village-made things.
5. He should endeavour to use cow's milk when at home.
6. Wherever a basic school was available, he must educate his children in that institution.
7. He must try to learn the Devanagari, the Urdu and one of the South Indian scripts.

These observances must be accepted by every Sangh desiring to join the co-ordinated body.

Note: The Board of Trustees of the A. I. S. A. resolved that all the seven observances above mentioned would be compulsory for the Trustees, but the last one namely, study of three scripts would not be compulsory for the members of the staff. The reason was that the Sangh had on its staff several workers who did not at present know even their own script very well. It was not, therefore, possible to make the rule compulsory for them.

6. Co-ordinated Sangh

In respect of the co-ordination of the All India Sanghs the A. I. S. A. was of opinion that in the beginning it would be practical to co-ordinate only the A. I. S. A., the A. I. V. I. A. and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. The inclusion of other Associations should be considered later on after obtaining experience of the working of the co-ordination of these three. The Sangh was also of the opinion that instead of dissolving these three Sanghs, it would be more profitable to allow each to carry on its activities autonomously with its specialities, but in a way whereby each benefited from the activities and experiences of other two.

7. Yarn Contribution for the Gandhi Memorial Fund

The Board considered the letter of the Gandhi Memorial Fund, New Delhi, dated 11-3-'48, and resolved that the Branches of the Sangh should accept the yarn contributions for that Fund. For this purpose they should get special receipt books from the Memorial Fund Committee. When accepting the contribution, the secretary should see that the receipt mentioned the count, weight and price of the yarn contributed. Yarn contributed for this purpose should not be credited in the yarn card of the contributor, nor should it be sold back to him.

(*Translated from the original in Hindustani*)

CONTENTS PAGE

THE NIZAM'S STATE	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	57
WHAT I GOT FROM GANDHIJI	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	57
VINOBA AT RAJGHAT	... VINOBA BHAVE	58
THE LANGUAGE OF PRAYER	... VINOBA BHAVE	59
INITIATION IN SARVODAYA	VINOBA BHAVE	60
WHAT SHOULD GOD HAVE DONE?	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	61
THE EXTENT OF OUR COUNTRY	... K. G. MASHRUWALA	61
STANDARDS OF JOURNALISM	... A. K.	62
SARVODAYA SAMAJ	... SHYAMLAL	63
STORY HOUR	... V. G. D.	63
NEW A. I. S. A. RESOLUTIONS		64

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.

Subscription Rates — INLAND: One year, Rs. 6: Six months, Rs. 3: FOREIGN: One year, Rs. 8 or 14 sh. or $ 3.